1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

great-grandfather is *kūlachi* ("thrice") *l-aku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kūlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* ceremony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always precedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latham, 1909, p. 357.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

pattern of a *machitun*, with the neophyte in the role of patient.[18] As the rites progress the older *machi* rubs the body of her pupil with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a *cherufe*. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.[19] Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kul·truñ*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.[20] As in the case of curing performances, the *machi* becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals ascend the *rewe*, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective masculine helpers. Feasting follows their recovery, after which the experienced *machi* goes home, the guests depart, and the new *machi* is ready to accept her first professional case.

REDEDICATION CEREMONIES

Every year, at the fiesta of San Juan, which in southern latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active *machi* is supposed to rededicate herself and her *rewe* at a celebration termed *ñeikurewen*.[21] The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess.

Guests arrive on the evening before the main events take

[18] Many additional details are given in Robles, 1912, pp. 155–70, and in Métraux, 1939, pp. 319–29. According to Robles several *machis* co-operate to initiate a novice. Among other things they "cure" the candidate by sucking parts of her body till they are raw and bloody.

[19] Hosse, 1939, p. 101.

[20] Typical markings on a *kul·truñ* are shown in Plate VIII.

[21] A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the term *ñeikurewen*, as *kurewen* means a wedded pair, and *kuretun* means copulation. Through the rededication rites the *machi* is supposed to be remarried to her *rewe*. It may be that *ñeikurewen* also applies, as was suggested by Edwards (1930, p. 29), to a new *machi*'s first consecration of a *rewe*, in which she symbolically marries a *canelo* or other sacred tree.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night. Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *llollkins*, *kul·truñs*, and *pifullkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.[28] It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeikurewen*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machituns*, a *machi* is expected to dream and play her *kul·truñ*, to conduct the *ñillatun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.[29]

[28] Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeikurewen*, I could hear the songs and shouts raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrarriñe. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi's* house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

[29] Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 750–51.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

ASSEMBLIES, GAMES, AND CEREMONIES

ASSEMBLIES

574
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LARGE assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *trawun* are important features of Araucanian culture.[1] Their impact on the lives of the people can best be appreciated in the light of certain aspects of their social organization. It must be recalled that Mapuche communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion and a corresponding lack of communal activities. Throughout the year there is a fair amount of intrareservation visiting, but contacts with other reductions are quite rare, especially in the cold and rainy season when roads wash out and travel is all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every settlement tends to be cut off from its neighbors:

> The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings . . . are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants,[2] to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place,[3] to celebrate a holiday . . . or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability. Whatever their particular aims may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.[4]

Notwithstanding the variety of purposes underlying these reunions, they seem to follow a similar pattern, and even the

[1] These words may be variously spelled, and some writers try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All public assemblies have so many points in common that it seems permissible to treat them together. Cf. Robles, 1912, p. 171.

[2] McBride (1936, p. 311) described a congress held to discuss land problems.

[3] A meeting of this sort is reported in Robles, 1912, pp. 171–81.

[4] Titiev, 1949, pp. 3–4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

events that are avowedly secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the fiesta of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *rañiñtripantu* ("mid-point of the year") or *wetripantu* ("new year").[5] The following account of a San Juan fiesta is based on material supplied by Domingo Carilaf, school teacher at Carrarriñe, who got it from his grandmother.

With the approach of the year's turning point each *loñko* or cacique would send his *werkens* to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's retainers would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *loñko* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity *fiunechen*, often called *chau* ("father"). From time to time he would blow on the *pimuntuwe*, a perforated stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence;[6] and every now and then he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

[5] Augusta (1916, I: 233) gave an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wetripantu*: "*El tiempo en que nuebe el sol del norte (año nuevo según el cómputo natural), la primavera; el año nuevo (político).*" See also Augusta, 1934, p. 35; and Cooper, 1946, p. 747.

[6] *Pimuntuwes* are pictured and discussed in Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 36–38.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

574 •796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *kewo mew*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *lolko purun*. Latcham said that *kewo mew* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 *ff.*

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarriñe's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[16] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarriñe's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

ÑILLATUN CEREMONIES[17]

Woven together into the great composite of *ñillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely used Mapuche word for "god" is *ñunechen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *ñunechen*, or *küme* ("good") *ñunechen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[16] See Figure 9, the Huaiquian-Paineo field near house No. 25.

[17] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 742–43. A good account by a native is given in Mostbech, 1930, pp. 371–94.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñunechen*, and are said to dwell in volcanoes.[18] The essential dualism of Araucanian belief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent deities: *Kūla-añe-fūcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon·a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[18] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 594–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

796 up the ceremony altogether. There is no consensus, either, with respect to the appropriate time for these events, although a slight preference is noticed for dates in the fall when the moon is full.

756 796 Even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi* there was no agreement among early writers: "Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the *ñillatun* rite. And Robles Rodriguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the *machi* entered intimately and actively into the *ñillatun* rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being."[19] Whatever may have been the situation in other days or other parts of Chile, it may be categorically stated that *machis* invariably play key parts in the *ñillatun* observances now held in the vicinity of Cholchol.

796 A further difficulty in treating of the *ñillatun* stems from the lack of standardization. Details of performance vary widely, depending on the time and place of the ceremony, the wishes and instructions of the *machi* in charge, and whether the main objective is to give thanks or plead for help. To illustrate some of the differences and to bring out the complexity of the rituals, accounts will be given of two celebrations which I had the opportunity of observing.[20]

THE ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE

On the afternoon of March 24, 1948, the Reverend Harry Donaldson and I rode horseback from Cholchol to watch a *ñillatun* ceremony at Coigue. We had been invited by Ramón Chihuaicura, who conducts the mission school in Coigue, and the occasion was rather special as a new field was to be dedicated. After resting and taking yerba maté with our host, we proceeded to the schoolroom in which there was a large, white wooden cross, inscribed in Spanish on the crossarm with a verse from Matthew 11:28. The lettering was in green, and just be-

[19] Cooper, 1946, p. 752.

[20] Contrast the general summary of events in Cooper (1946, p. 743) with the two descriptions that follow.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

low the Biblical statement was painted the Mapuche word *ñillatuin* ("let us pray").[21] A few men, including Coigue's cacique, Juan Choquilaf Malikyo, were present, and Mr. Donaldson spoke briefly in Spanish on the significance of the cross. The party then proceeded to the prayer ground, carrying along the cross and a large Chilean flag.

The *ñillatun* field was simply part of an open meadow, along the western edge of which a few ramadas had been built of leaves and branches (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2). At some distance from the shelters a deep hole was dug into which the cross was implanted with the inscription facing west. Before the hole was filled several coins and some *chicha* were put in. Then the Chilean flag was placed close by (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), together with branches of cinnamon, apple, *maki*,[22] and perhaps other trees. Near at hand a ram was tied to a short stake. This collection of objects was to be the focal point of the ceremony and served as an altar. A small number of people was present, some of whom promptly placed at the foot of the altar pottery jars of *chicha* and *mudai*. Thereafter, any thirsty person drank from one of the vessels and put it back. Whenever a dog approached it was driven off, as dogs represent evil spirits and are particularly repugnant to *machis* while professionally engaged.

When the cross was in position, its donor, Chihuaicura, the cacique of Coigue, and one or two other men, bared their heads and knelt on the ground, facing east (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). While they prayed, other men with a plow and a yoke of oxen were cutting light furrows to delimit a small hockey field between the altar and the ramadas. Scarcely had they finished, when some one fetched a hard rubber ball, and half a dozen men produced sticks and engaged in a sort of impromptu match for a few minutes. The sticks were then stacked against the altar.

At five o'clock, just as the sun began to set, the dedication

[21] One should not jump to conclusions because of the obvious Christian influence on the Coigue *ñillatun*, for wooden crosses mark many old prayer grounds and cemeteries. Only a small minority of the participants in the Coigue celebration were even nominal Christians. See footnote 18.

[22] Identified in Augusta (1916, I: 85) as Mapuche *ñuñil* (*Berberis buxifolia* Lam.; family Berberidaceae).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of the field ended, and a *machi* came forward to take charge of the *ñillatun*. Since no *machi* lives at Coigue, the chief had asked a woman from a neighboring reduction to officiate. No pay is rendered on these occasions, except in the form of gifts of food. The *machi* was dressed in traditional Araucanian garb, with a neat, clean apron, a kerchief on her head, and a minimum of ornaments. There is a belief that the deities respond better to the prayers of the poor and humble. She had the appearance of a sturdy, barefooted woman of early middle age, with strong but rather handsome features. She carried a *kul-trufi* and a string of half a dozen sleigh bells. As she came up to the altar, a younger woman similarly dressed but bareheaded stood beside her with a gourd rattle in hand. Facing east toward the cross and the distant Andes, the *machi* raised the *kul-trufi* in her left hand, struck it rapidly several times, and began to intone a speedy, somewhat monotonous chant in which she called upon *Chau* ("Father") to listen to the prayers that were to come. She then thanked him for crops, animals, and other blessings, and asked for rain and continued favors in the coming season.[*] At the close of each verse the tempo of the drum beats increased rapidly and, at the signal, "Ya!" the crowd raised the shout of "Ya, ya, YAI!" Every now and then a man sounded a blast on a *trutruka* (see Pl. XI, Fig. 1.) The chant was repeated four times, (four is the sacred number of the Araucanians), and as it drew to a finish several women advanced to the altar, broke off small branches, and held them in the left hand, while one woman dipped a twig into a bowl of water and occasionally asperged all the celebrants. At this stage Chihuaicura and the other men who had dedicated the cross knelt bareheaded behind the *machi*.

When the preliminary chanting ended, a new formation was made. This consisted of several lines of men and women of all ages, wearing all sorts of native or Chilean clothes. The *machi* and her assistant stood in the center of the front row, flanked by adult women in Araucanian dress. In time to a new chant

[*] For a text of this sort, see Augusta, 1934, p. 30, No. 14.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

and drum beat the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a broomstick. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the *machi*, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the *machi* began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Choichoi for the night.

The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and superping was now so copious as to suggest a mimetic shower.[a]

At about one o'clock in the afternoon the *machi*, obviously

[a] If these ceremonies that seek rain feature black, to represent storm clouds. These designed for the opposite purpose use white, which stands for the sun. At Colgue rain was wanted because a long drought was making fall planting difficult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul-truñ*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, stuck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[35]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[36] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[35] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[36] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many were colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *awe*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kultrun*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

•79% turned to the altar, and there was another round of chanting by the *machi*, group dancing to and from the altar, mounted circuits, and more ostrich dancing. Again the emphasis seemed to continue the dominant theme of thanksgiving and supplication, but just as the rites were concluding toward sundown a climax occurred that was apparently designed as an attack on evil spirits. Up to this point the celebrants, in close ranks, had been dancing back and forth as before. Facing the main body was the young couple that advanced and withdrew in the same rhythm as the others. Soon the *machi* began to grow wilder in her singing; she pulled the kerchief from her head and allowed her hair to tumble over her face; and she jumped vigorously up and down. Suddenly she brandished a knife in her right hand and a gourd rattle in her left. She shouted and gesticulated, stabbed at the air in all directions, and pretended to charge at the dancing couple, who backed hastily away. Once she seized the *kalawé* that her assistant was beating and ecstatically banged it up and down on her own head. She then paused for a few moments while a man (her husband) came forth and pressed the flat blade of a knife against her body at various points, an action that was supposed to give her strength. After that she resumed her wild dance, holding the knife aloft, jumping and whirling from side to side. While the crowd shouted and the *trutruka* sounded, a dozen men took up hockey sticks and clashed them repeatedly over the *machi*'s head. By now the *machi* appeared on the verge of a collapse, and once again men on horseback performed the *ayun*, riding at a gallop around the whole sacred area as the *Nillatun* came to a close.

THE *NILLATUN* AT MALALCHE

On Friday and Saturday, April 23 and 24, 1948, the people of Malalche were busy at a *nillatun*. We were unable to go on the first day, but from a high spot at Cautinche we could see the ramadas and smoke from the cooking fires, and we could hear an occasional shout or the sound of a *trutruka*. Early Saturday morning, my wife, Ruth González, and I, accompanied by Juan Antimao, his daughter Josephina, and his son Molinao,

1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

proceeded to Maloleche.* A double row of ramadas stretched for nearly 100 yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Meliwe unbitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Maloleche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *ñillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *muday*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the foot of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).* Beside her stood two female assistants, each one bearing a *kultrun*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four

* The women rode in an escort driven by Meliwe (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Rafil made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antiñeo answered extensive questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

* We learned that this *machi* came from Chahihué where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk as the day progressed. Juan Antiñeo told us afterward that she had received sixty pardaos of meat money and many beverages for her services.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

796 young men danced in separate rows toward and away from the
535 altar, in an east-west direction. One of the men carried a Chilean flag, another a white banner, and the other two straddled bamboo poles as they danced. The rhythm was at all times six-eight and fairly quick, and two *trutrukas* were occasionally sounded by players standing north and south of the altar. Among the male spectators were many who blew rhythmically but monotonously on small *pifullkas*.

Shortly after noon the *machi* began a vigorous dance, once striking an inverted *kul-trun* against her head. From her position west of the altar she moved north and then east, thus approaching the six young dancers, whom she appeared violently to oppose. Her assistants spat on the ground and repeatedly asperged the group of dancers. Soon the *machi* dropped to her knees and continued to dance wildly around the altar. She paused for a moment while an assistant bound a dark kerchief over her head and then, even though blindfolded, she resumed her forceful dance around the altar on her knees. When she returned to the west side, a number of men clashed hockey sticks over her head, and one man waved a knife about.
796 The *machi* then began a conversation with an interlocutor, in the same fashion as in a *machitun* or curing service. Juan Antimo said later that her first words were, "I have come," referring to the arrival of the spirit that had possessed her. After an exchange of conventional greetings, the *machi* went on to give instructions for the successful conduct of the *füllatun*, ordering, among other things, an ostrich dance, circuits of mounted men, and the sacrifice of a sheep. She also told the assemblage that the Araucanians were having trouble because they had given up their ancient ways. This must have sounded strange coming from a *machi* who lived in a Chilean town. When the spirit's report was finished, the *machi*'s head was uncovered and after she had rested a bit, the interlocutor repeated the full conversation he had held with her.

796 A short time later, three young men, one very reluctantly,
535 prepared to do the ostrich dance. Except for the use of shawls

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

over outstretched arms they made little pretense at costuming or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced eastward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *awn*. Several of the men blew on *pifullkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pan, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the bystanders lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Coigue, masculine visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by men of the sponsoring reservation.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the mass dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as is elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*; two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less asperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awn*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *kuschatun*, is called by Moesbach an annex to the *ñillatun*.[80] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan weutrus*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

[80] Moesbach, 1930, p. 371.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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phere so pleasing to the gods that they would be more likely to grant the prayers of the people.[21]

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Irrespective of differences in details, both sets of observances were patterned along similar lines. In each case it was evident that the *hillatun* is a complex performance, containing elements of the major Araucanian ceremonial activities. Within its structure there are included features of the public assembly (*kawiñ*), hockey game (*palikantun*), and curing ritual (*machitun*). There is a likelihood that the lack of systematization and standardization may reflect the breakdown of Mapuche social organization, but such a hypothesis can only be stated tentatively at the present time.

[21] A wide variety of songs used by masked clowns is published in Guevara 1934, pp. 322–31.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XI

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FIG. 1. Dedication of a new cross at Coigue. A *fütatun* field is being inaugurated. The donor of the cross is in white shirt sleeves at the left of the second row. The officiating *machi* faces the group, and a *trutruka* player is at the left. A Chilean flag, a black standard, and jars of *muday* and *chicha* are next to the cross.

FIG. 2. The principal *fütatun* field at Carrerrüe. The same area is used for hockey.

[end plate 11]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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PLATE XII

FIG. 1. Start of the *küllatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul'wuñ* primed. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *küllatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 13]

1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XIII

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FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the [illegible] is in progress.

[end plate 13]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XIV

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FIG. 1. Main altar of the *füllatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. Dance group at Malalche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The *machi* is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautín River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations.

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims

[7] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8] The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9] Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS

FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Nuaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

[10] "Araucanos araucanos," Rev. folklore chileno, Año III, Entrega 4 (1913), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[11] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[115] [11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Nuaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 34, 36-51. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carro[illegible]che, near Chol-Chol, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SC4 Araucanians SC4

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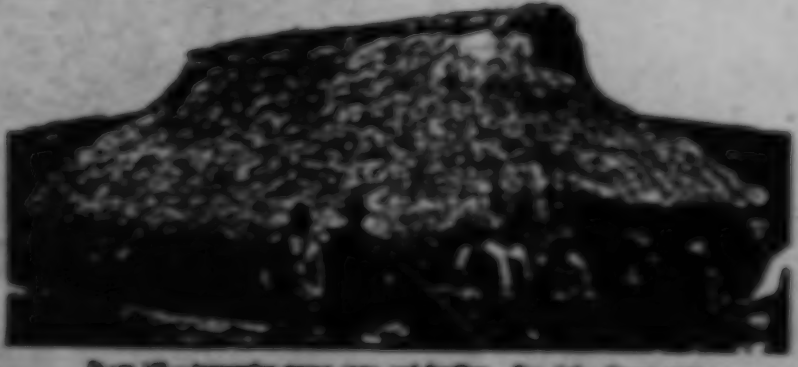

Plate VII.—Araucanian armour, arms, and fortifications. Top left: Cuirass, arms, and helmet. Bottom, at centre's bottom: Eastern Araucanian fortification, at rear. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 4]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

§33 special songs were
composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, nature, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 123–24; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; §38 Félix José, 1916, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–46) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Sousville, 1908, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European.

§34 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul'rug), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifollka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (2 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (voelo). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Hrdlička, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:81–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 202)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

§35 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Barcelona (1883, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:88; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable drawing (Félix José, 1916, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 185, bottom) of wood and of cactus leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 199; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

§37 **Recreations.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily
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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawiñ was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

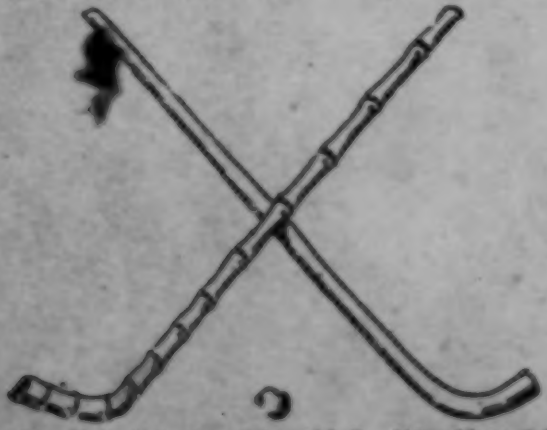

FIGURE 81.—*Mapuche* hockey sticks and ball. (After Manquilef, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (huiñe, uño, pelican) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of *Chusquea* sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 199–208.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

5:Cooper Σ-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

RELIGION

771 *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 **Theism.**—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important rule in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ɣenéchen (master of men) and ɣenémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and *rey* kuñe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ɣenéchen," "Young Woman ɣenéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ɣenéchen (ɣenémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanoes and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 782 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ɣillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Dumeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1884, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1922, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 222, offering to spirits.)

796 On the public rite, the ɣillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 262–69; 1908, pp. 262–65;

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

1911, pp. 226–40; 1929, 1:638–46; Hosse, 1939, pp. 103–12; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 371–94; Robles Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 9–36.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called *wen'pin*, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from *machi*), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicha for the feast; the *rewe*, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia maqui*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 93); the erection of the *llellipai*, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 94); repeated circuition of the *awin*, an encircling of the *rewe* and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia maqui* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, sucking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast. 796

In some cases the *machi* took a leading part in the *ellatun* rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the *rewe*, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e.g., Hosse, 1936, pp. 105–10; see also *infra* under Shamanism, p. 750.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the *ellatun* rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the *lonkotrun* rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this *lonkotrun* rite is performed as part of the *ellatun* rite, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the *ellatun* "altar" (Moesbach, 1936, p. 386).

Is the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal. 776 177

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779

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillán or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of those writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

776
777
[796]

Figure 64.—A *Mapuche* machitun. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 284.)

War of the Araucanians, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Padres Alcalde de Bologna and Crespiñano de Ulloa (Fifth Anct, 1910, pp. 305-07) and of Domeyko (1845, pp. 43-47) and Smith (1855, p. 370), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

They acknowledge a Supreme being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . . . They also call him Guenu-pillán, the spirit of Heaven, Dungun, the great being (art, "Guenu"), Thalcave, the Thunderer, Wenteyvu, the Creator of all, Vilgelfuve, the Omnipotent, Kolkolvi, the Eternal, Arnolle, the Infinite, &c . . . . . He is the great Tenet of the invisible world . . . . . [Molina, 1851, p. 126, cf. 1810-a, p. 244.]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1884, p. 147), chachao (Manesilla, 1877, 2:23), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra).

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the *gillatun* rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent.

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wune tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Ranitlhueuvu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:198) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to *genechen*, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Meregrav, 1648, p. 206; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 186), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Meregrav (1648, p. 206), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

tion was asked); the machi that are also kalku, because these dealt with witchcraft; those who caused another's death through witchcraft; those who killed another by overcoming him physically; those who stole animals, such as cattle, horses, sheep; those who burned down other people's ruka; the wekufú themselves.

THE RELATUN: TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

Informants spoke of their tribal religious ceremonial as gillatun (the Araucanian for "to ask for something") and as lin rogativas (the Spanish for "several days of prayer"). "Both mean everybody comes together; when we use either word, we know we mean our gillatun."

Until recent years the gillatun (participants being the people under one cacique) was held several times each year: Early in spring to pray for an increase in flocks—more recently in herds also—and for favorable weather during planting time; during the growing season, in the event that unfavorable weather set in; and later in the season to petition favorable weather for harvest time. A special occasion for performing the ceremonial was to avert physical harm, such as might result from destructive wind storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. On all occasions, in addition to the special petitions, prayers were for the welfare of all the people, especially of the families who were in attendance. An Alapile man told the following as an example of a special occasion for holding the gillatun: "While the great earthquake was going on in Valparaiso in 1906, the earth around here trembled a day and a night. The following day, the Mapuche here held a gillatun. About 10 years ago, I thought we were having another serious earthquake. I looked at that hill to see if the tree trunks up there [in burnt-over lands] were moving—they were, and soon they were falling over. I knew then that there was a threatening earthquake. We held a gillatun at that time, too." Today, the gillatun is celebrated once a year, usually in the spring, as a petition for favorable weather for crops.

The celebration of a complete gillatun takes 2, 3, or 4 days, depending on the number of animals to be sacrificed. Several weeks previous to the celebration, the men of the families who will participate meet for 1 or 2 days to decide on the exact time at which it is to be held. In December of 1946, preparations were being made for one to be held in Maiquillahue (Alapile area). "Right now [February] meetings are being held here [Catholic] to decide on days in April [1947] for our next gillatun."

10: Hilger E-5 (1966-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the performance of a gillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Collarije man on whose land the gillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the gillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Collarije, Llanchahue, Pururu, Pullinque, Treupulli, Kayumapu, Kolcuhue, Kuakue, Lonkon, Rewehue, Kuellon, Kikiue, Kurunge, Huechulafkan, Llanil. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the gillatun—one locality decides to hold a gillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Pangipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shoshoncon, Huing, and Pichiloncon. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration.

The gillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepún area this plot is in Meicuillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Collarije man: "The gillatun for Collarije is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the gillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintances and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the gillatun announces the date for the celebration and sends out messages to the people through men who assist him in the ceremonial; informants called them captains and sergeants. In Alepún area, the cacique is the leader; in Collarije and Pangipulli areas, he is a person known as pangin, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the gillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The pangin, according to Félix José (1918), vol. 1, pp. 33-35), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers orations in the gillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the pangin as a class of priests although they do not sacrifice slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from

Lib. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

his father. "The one in Collanlpe is a man 50 years old; his father was the prophet before him. When the father died, this son did not want to be the prophet, but the people ordained him to be one, unanimously. Always someone in the same family is to be the prophet." The prophet does not dream to become one, nor is there any training or initiation given him.

Each family prepares food needed for the days at the ngillatun before leaving home. "I remember well with what interest my grandfather prepared to go to the ngillatun. Today, still, every family all around here slaughters a sheep to take along as food." The father slaughters the sheep, or if he is dead, the oldest person in the household will do so; usually this is the mother. Wherever slaughters it sprinkles the yard of the ruka with the steaming blood of the sheep as he walks about the yard saying a prayer. A twig is used in sprinkling. Tortillas to be used as a sacrificial offering are baked without salt, yeast, or grease. When so baked, they are called coarse shell. These tortillas are taken to the ngillatun and so are olla filled with cooked. No intoxicating liquor, such as chicha, is drunk at the ngillatun.

On the opening day—or the day previous, if the distance requires it—families set out for the celebration. Those from a distance come on horseback, each one blowing his pifüllka almost continuously as he rides along. (See pl. 32 for pifüllka.) "Not long ago, when the ngillatun was held here [Collanlpe], we could hear the shrill sounds of the pifüllka from here and there and there [pointing in various directions] as the families in the Cordillera came down the mountains. Those who wish to make a family sacrifice will bring a hen; an ordinary family brings a sheep; sometimes a group of families from a locality make a joint sacrifice of a sheep. When this is done, the sheep is brought to one of the leaders of that locality, and he brings it to the ngillatun."

All members of a family attend the ngillatun, except the sick and someone who stays home to guard the ruka, usually one or two children. In December 1938, in Collanlpe, there were just to four men, women, and children present. Nearly everyone comes and brings all the dogs but one, which stays home with the children to guard the house. A child who stays home the first day is allowed to attend the following day, when another one must stay home. Even skeptical persons attend. "I always attend," said one, "and so do my parents, but we do not participate in the ceremony nor do we drink any of the sacrificial cooked—it is often no good anyway! I believe that those who attend can be classified into three groups: those who merely come to

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

[796]

look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony."

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, as the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it."

[E09]

Although features of the nutrichid ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following:

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The leader, whether he be a machque or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pocura (Collueipe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a nutrichi, also from Pocura, "But the nutrichi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). In the center of the Collueipe grounds (fig. 2), four cultrichi are placed in the ground; in Alepún, one cangal tree. This place is called purrún (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the cultrichi, the trutrikas brought by the families are arranged in a row of pairs. "At our last gillatún the pairs were as high [1½ feet]." Behind the trutrikas a row of containers, each filled with muday, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the cultrichi are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a trutruka (see pl. 30, 1). "Each man with a trutruka needs two posts: a crotched one to which he rests his trutruka and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the trutruka. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are like guards of the place. Pocura had one trutruka in December, and Llaneahue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the purrún. Here the nutrichi will sit, each with his or her kultrung (pl. 30, 1), "sometimes there are as many as four nutrichi." Formerly each nutrichi had a pole. During the ceremonial each nutrichi beats his or her kultrung, and together they sing (informant sang in Arauca-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796 nian): "You, who are above in heaven, give us all that is necessary as food. Give us wheat, corn, potatoes. Give us peas and quinoa. Give us lanko kachu."

A fireplace upon which the sacrificial animals are to be consumed is prepared "like all other fireplaces are, but this one is considered sacred." Embers are kept glowing by a boy and a girl, between 7 and

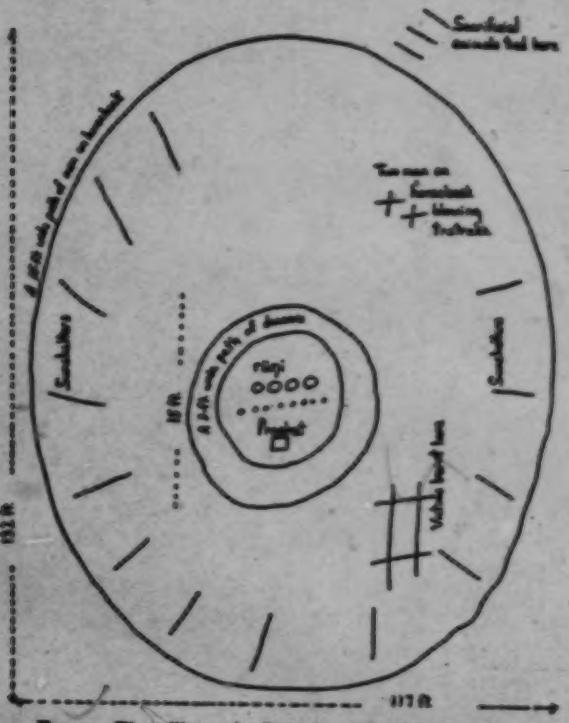


FIG. 2.—The ñillatun in Cofaripe area. (Diagram drawn by a Cofaripe informant.)

10 years of age—"they must be very innocent and guileless still"—who swing branches with leaves over the fire in a manner to make the smoke go heavenward. The Cofaripe prophet chose two of his own children for the December ñillatun. The sheep and hens to be offered are tied to poles at some distance from the grounds and are brought in as needed.

While the above preparations are being made, the families raise sun shelters in close proximity to each other and in an elliptical pattern

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

about the porufe as the center. Each sun shelter is shared by several families. Persons rest in them during the daytime and eat meals there. Leaders and other men sleep there at night; all others return home or stay with relatives nearby for the night. 796

When all has been prepared, the leader, the men with the trutruka (pl. 32, *1*), and the machi take their positions. Men—as many as 796 535

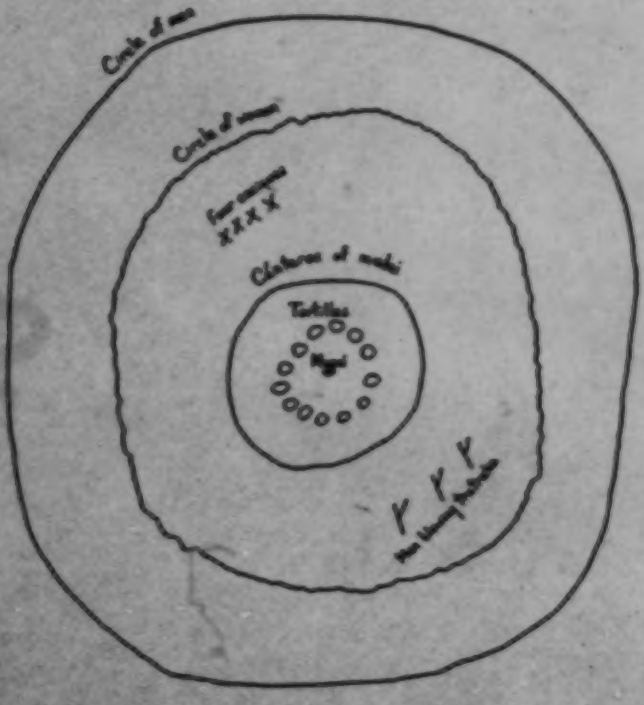


FIG. 3.—The ceremonial in Alepin area. (Diagram drawn by an Alepin informant.)

30 to 80, depending on the number present—mount their horses and get into formation beyond the sun shelters. Other men and the women and children get into solid formation to dance the purun about the porufe and the machi.

A man joins his right hand with the left hand of an unmarried woman, preferably his wife's unmarried sister (never with his wife); a young unmarried man, with an unmarried girl. Couples stand abreast to a radius of approximately 15 feet. The movements of the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796 535 purun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the purufe hardly move, while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifalka, the machi beat their kultrun, and the lmen blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ñillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the purufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the purufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntrun." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntrun around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the purun until the küntrun has ended.

796 782 A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the palpitating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four colihüe. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ñillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ñillatun."

796 After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, to where the sacrificial sheep and lambs have been tied. After the leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their prayers to chau and to wenemapu fulse (the woman with chau). "It looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and ride nearly 50 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of muday and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied, pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell "Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off their horses, and each takes a collihue from the middle of the row at the purufe. With these in their hands both dance around the purufe four times. After this all the participating young men run round the purufe, each one carrying a vessel of muday, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!"

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the purufe for chau. All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred fire (pl. 31, 3). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the muday, too, is consumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers or pottery vessels.

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first day's, except that usually all bones are sacrificed on the second day by being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. "Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recurrence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 743-743), the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the gillatun. It was not known to have been used in areas I visited.

The kuschitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

and might occur at any time (cf. pp. 62-63). Today it is performed at the gillatun, rarely otherwise, and is an expression of sincere good will between people of two localities. "We had a kewchiltun at the December gillatun for invited families from Perara," said a Colicripe informant; "those people now owe us a sheep and [laughing] we must hold a gillatun in April to give them an opportunity to pay us back."

The following rather complete account of the manner of conducting the gillatun in Alepún area was given by a 66-year-old man with a 47-year-old man collaborating. The diagram in figure 3 was drawn by them. Both were active participants in the ceremonial.

The rucapu of Molsalu leads the gillatun in our area, that is for Alepún, Chau Chau, Pelluco, and Maiquillahue. Our rucapu (Alepún) holds second position; the rucapu of Chau Chau, third; and a rucapu from the other side of the Molsalu River, the fourth. Each brings with him a captain and a sergeant, the captain taking precedence over the sergeant. The two duties of the captain and sergeant are, first, to inform the people in their respective localities that a gillatun will be held and second, to assist in the performance of the ceremonies. The holy pampa is in Maiquillahue—it is a hundred meters square. [The interpreter thought it to be much larger. The informant continued somewhat vindictively:] Every year the owner of the holy pampa extends his fences a little further into it and thereby lessens the extent of the holy pampa.

The complete gillatun consists of two separate gatherings. The first lasts one day. Its purpose is to tell why a gillatun should be held and to set the date for the second meeting which is usually held two months later. The second gathering lasts at least two days—it begins early in the morning of one day and ends in the late afternoon the following day. If there is moonlight, the second dancing will be continued through the night between the days; if there is no moon, the rucapus will not permit dancing at night.

A gillatun is held either because the leading rucapu decides that there shall be one or because one of the other three rucapus asks him to hold one, or because people in a locality jointly go to their rucapu and petition for one. Other reasons, in recent years, for holding a gillatun were continuous unfavorable weather, or because our grain was not maturing as it should, or to avert the catastrophe of an earthquake. One can be held for any other reason for which the people may want one. The last gillatun we had—the one in October [1946]—was for favorable weather.

The first gathering is held in the open, but the gillatun itself is conducted in an enclosure made of saplings, with branches and leaves retained. The saplings are planted so as to slant toward the inside of the enclosure. In the center of the enclosure a rewpil about 3 feet high is erected. Anyone who has the good will to do so may erect it. I recall one gillatun at which the rewpil was forgotten. On that occasion the gillatun opened and there was no rewpil. The man who had volunteered to get it, traveled out and got one.

After the rewpil has been planted, the four lambs that have been brought for sacrifice are brought into the enclosure. These must be white female lambs; they are voluntary offerings by anyone who wishes to offer one; black lambs cannot be sacrificed. White or yellow lambs, about mature enough to be eaten, may also be sacrificed. If anyone brings a lamb of any other color, he is told that he may take it home again.

10: Niger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796

The leading cacique makes a small incision close to the heart of one of the lambs, reaches in, and draws forth the pulsating heart. The heart is punctured then, and at each pulsation the leading cacique dips a sprig into the blood that squirts forth, and sprinkles it toward the maqui. He continues this until the pulsations end. The lambs are taken next, one at a time. The head of each one is chopped off and the leading cacique, holding the body in one hand, moves the neck back and forth, sprinkling the maqui with blood.

This done, the leading cacique addresses God Father in prayer—we call him dios—asking for the blessings of the particular intention for which the gillatun is being held. It includes a prayer asking that the people will be blessed with seasons of favorable weather and a good harvest, and that there will be no accidents. The same prayer is addressed to God Mother, asking her to ask God Father for these favors. Then they ask the sons and daughters of God Father and God Mother to intercede with God Father for the same favors. Next, they ask the deceased great caciques, Trauamalefu and Colwefilri, to intercede also. These are two important caciques of long ago. They lived some distance apart and communicated with each other in dreams; they were not from Alepún area, but from somewhere else. After mentioning these two caciques, they mention in prayer the more important deceased caciques who lived in Alepún area. My grandfather is among those mentioned.—I still have his pillelka, and cherish it. I could have exactly he recited these prayers.—At the close of the gillatun, they promise these caciques that in another year they will hold another gillatun. The leading cacique then prays to other deceased persons, whom he remembers as being with God in heaven, that they, too, intercede with God for the people.

Then a lamb is thrown on a huge fire which is about 20 meters away from the enclosure, but within the area known as the holy pampa; the lamb is completely consumed by fire. [The interpreter remarked that it must produce an unbearable stench, to which the informant answered that the breezes from the Pacific carried it away.] Each sacrificial lamb is killed, its blood sprinkled, and the rest consumed by fire. The sacrifice of the lamb is the essential of each sacrificial act, an act repeated four times during each of the two days.

While the animals are being consumed by the fire, the leading cacique beats a kultrun. The men mount their horses and ride, two abreast, very orderly around the outside of the enclosure and the fire. The women join hands and dance around the maqui to the beat of the kultrun. Any man who brought a trotrokin kitra it—usually there are two or three that have done so. This part of the ceremonial usually takes a half hour. Then the men dismount, tie their horses to the fences that are nearby, and walk to the enclosure in orderly formation, two and two, those from each locality being led by their captain. Then each man pairs up with a girl or woman, and all dance slowly. This dance is followed by a second dance which is done faster. Anyone who does not follow the formalities of the dance is corrected. If he does not improve, he is suspected of ridiculing it and is told to leave. No one is allowed to ridicule or laugh at anything. This ceremony has taken another half hour. Everyone now rests. All I have told you up to now is considered one complete sacrifice. The identical ceremony with sacrifices is repeated four times, a lamb being offered each time. Between these acts of sacrifice, time is taken out for a rest.

Each woman has brought with her, tied in a piece of cloth, something of everything she has planted or intends to plant—probably a handful of wheat, barley, corn, peas, flax, and two or three potatoes. She places these as her offering near the maqui. Later when the four sacrifices have been completed, these offerings

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796 are dropped on the fireplace where they are consumed—they are consumed after the hens, and the hens are consumed after the lambs. Before the women's offerings are burnt, the following prayers are said in Mapuche: "God Father who art in heaven, you see what we are doing here today, that we are offering you this sacrifice; forgive us our faults; give us food and a good year; do not punish us since today we offer you this lamb and all these cereals and vegetables which you, God Father, gave us. We beg you, God Father, that you give us a good year, that you will not punish us with intense heat, that you will let the seeds sprout well so that there will be a good harvest, that there will be no sickness among your children whom you now see here; that there will be no mishap among your sons and daughters in their work in the fields and on the sea where your sons work. Fill our lives with good living. We beg, also, you, God Mother, to pray to God Father for us. We call also on you, the caciques who have left us, and who now are us from heaven where you are." Every married man has brought a tortilla [about 12 inches in diameter] and a cántaro of mudai. At present the mudai is made of corn, or wheat and barley, ground on the metate; formerly, the women chewed the corn and spat it into an olla and let it ferment into mudai.

Between the two dances during the fourth act, each sergeant distributes pieces of tortillas, which he has cut from those offered at the nuqui, to men, women and children from his locality who danced—those who were merely onlookers do not receive any. After that, he passes mudai to the same persons. The mudai which is not drunk is poured out. Nothing is taken home.

Children join in all dancing and are present everywhere. They must be orderly and show respect by their conduct. The machi are present but merely as other persons are; they have no duties at the ngillatun nor are they shown any special respect.

At the end of the ngillatun the machi bid each other goodbye. All others say goodbye to each other—just like we do after Mass—some merely embrace, others kiss, everybody shakes hands.

BLACK ART

754 Black art, or witchcraft, is resorted to as a means of revenge or because of jealousy. Once it is suspected that black art has been inflicted on a person or his property, retaliation is sought through the same means. Kalku—witches, both men and women—practice it either directly or through a medium (cf. pp. 70, 155). If it is inflicted on persons, the result is physical or mental ill health (cf. pp. 110, 124); if on property, fields of wheat are usually involved. The medium employed is known only to the kalku using it, unless he has told some of his fellow kalku about it. Panguipulli informants knew that several kalku met periodically secretly "in the deep woods where no one else goes," and there laid their plans to do injury to someone. Such meetings are called remiruka.

If a wheat field is to be damaged, the medium used is the meat of any 4-footed animal and/or eggs, which are bewitched and buried

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796
346

The nillatun, religious ceremonial (Cañaripe): 1, Sun shelters erected by participants at the place of the ceremonial. 2, Detail of one of the shelters. 3, The spot on which the sacrificial animals were burned.

[p. 156(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

the yare of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, g, 6); they step backward and refuse to touch them. Some could because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly. They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a 788 thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kuhapan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba mate, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the qualtun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the qualtun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kuhapan demonstrated the qualtun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE NILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the qillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as qillatun, or qillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

38: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

tion." Camaruko is probably an adaptation of the Quechua word "camaricu" (Montesinos, 1920, p. 35). "They all name the name," said the cacique of Malleo; "they name prayer of thanksgiving and petition offered by all the people together—it is a united prayer. We thank God for what we have received in crops and animals and children and health, and we ask Him for particular things that are for the welfare of all the people." The welfare of all the people includes good health, favorable weather during growing time, a good harvest, and the prevention of killing frosts or snowfalls, or bitterly cold winters. One extraordinary intention (one for which the gillatun was conducted out of the regular time) was to avert starvation. A year of dire want was known to follow the year in which the cultrún blossoms, which, informants said, occurs about every 20 to 30 years. Informants explained that rats, attracted by the seeds of the cultrún, come in large numbers, and after having eaten the cultrún seeds, they ate the wheat and other food supplies. Consequently, as soon as there was indication that the cultrún would blossom, each cacique called his people together for the gillatun.

Formerly the gillatun was held regularly twice a year: once following seeding time and again at harvest time. Each cacique, having decided on the days for the celebration of the gillatun, sent two young men to give notice to his people. At present each area that still has a cacique holds the gillatun only biennially, and that at harvest time; but a cacique takes his people, during the in-between year, to the gillatun of another cacique upon the invitation of that cacique. Also, today, areas that no longer have a cacique join with an area that does. Such areas, for example, as Trumpul, Pilpil, Cerro Lil, Loleg, Pilolil, Chanmil, Kalcufu, and the district of the River Limay, which no longer have a cacique, attend the gillatun conducted in Quilaquina. Kalcufu conducted its last gillatun under its late cacique, Shaihueke; Trumpul, under its late cacique, Coyún.

Araucanians in the Quilaquina area were restless in the summer of 1952 because the cacique of the area had not sent out notice that the gillatun would be celebrated in the fall of the year. "This is the year for it," said Kolupan. "This is an important thing; not something to be trifled with. The present cacique was reared in the schools of the Christians; he is lax; he attaches no significance to the gillatun; if he does not hold one soon, he will meet with death. His brother, the cacique before him, had more sense; he held at least one every year." (The cacique did die; he froze to death in the winter of 1952.)

Plans for holding the gillatun late in April (fall of 1952) were

19: Bridges E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

under way in February in Ñalléo, Anlaepun, and Caibín Curá. "When harvesting and sheep shearing on the estancias terminate, our people return home; it is then that we shall celebrate the gillatun."

The gillatun is always conducted on a plot of land reserved for

FIG. 9.—The gillatun in Quinquina. (Diagram drawn by a non-Araucanian who had attended 28 performances of the gillatun.)

that purpose and considered sacred, one sheltered from winds. (Cf. fig. 9 for diagram of gillatun.) No domestic use is supposed to be made of it, but this restriction is being ignored today. Old persons expressed regret and grief at seeing cattle and sheep grazing on it, or grain growing there. "The cacique has a difficult time keeping people from plowing and seeding the plot; land is so scarce now. And then,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

too, so many young persons today have no faith in the gillatun; in fact they pay no attention to anything related to our old ways." 796

The cacique who called the people together for the gillatun is the officiating officer at the ceremony. He is assisted by two men from his jurisdiction, inka or lelfu, referred to by informants as captain and sergeant. Other persons of importance are the machi and the four piwichen—two boys in early adolescence and two prepubescent girls. All other persons present, except children, are expected to participate; children are nonparticipant observers. "Children know nothing about things yet; but they are made to observe everything so they will learn. But today, not even children want to learn the old ways; it is a pity!"

Since there is no longer a machi in Quilaquina area, an ordinary woman replaces her. It is she who beats the kultrun. Before the ceremonies begin, each of her hands is painted from knuckles to wrist with three pairs of lines, each pair consisting of a black and a white line. A similar pair of lines is painted across her nose, from cheek bone to cheek bone, and another pair across her forehead from temple to temple. On her head she wears a trariloqko, a silver ornament. The two prepubescent girls (piwichen) are decorated in the same manner; the two boys (piwichen) each have only one black line from cheek bone to cheek bone across the nose. 796 302

The complete ceremonial takes two days. Families arrive at the plot reserved for it on the evening preceding the first day. Each family brings a 2-day supply of food, blankets on which to rest and sleep, and sacrificial family offerings of food. Traditional offerings were wheat, corn, catuto (p. 366), tortilla, an eagle, and mudai (p. 371); optional offerings were chickens, sheep, and calves. Today, offerings are usually the traditional obligatory ones, "or whatever the people want to offer." Chicha (pilku) has replaced mudai. An occasional family brings one or two of the optional offerings. The cacique provides the traditional tribal sacrifice, a white horse; or in the event no white horse is obtainable, a roan-colored one. Today a sheep or calf often replaces the horse. Only the blood of animals is sacrificed; their meat is either eaten, or is thrown into the fire, together with the bones, at the end of the ceremonial to be totally consumed. Dogs must be kept from getting any of either. 796

The evening of their arrival, persons sit around until midnight, resting and visiting. At midnight the men plant 3- to 4-foot-tall colihue stalks in a row approximately 20 yards long. This done, each woman places at the base of a stalk her family offerings of food and also a

19: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

cup and a pottery plate—the cup must be of the traditional type, that is, either pottery or made of the large end of a cow's horn.

Chicha is then poured into a large vessel, which stands "at the place for God" (probably an altar), and also into small cups. "Formerly we used medal made of araucaria nuts, quinoa, or wheat. Whatever is used must be drunk through hollowed-out culhüe stalks from traditional-type cups." During the ceremonial some of the beverage from the large vessel is sprinkled "heavenward to God"; the remainder is drunk by the people.

Just before sunrise, preparatory to the opening of the ceremony, each man that traveled to the ngillatun on horseback mounts his horse. So do the two boys, each in a chiripe and carrying a culhüe tipped with a piece of blue cloth. All now line up in formation, the two boys leading and the men on horseback, each holding a culhüe stalk, following. Next come the men on foot, each also carrying a culhüe. Then follow the two girls, each wearing a chamall and carrying a chuhüd (rattle). The women, also on foot, bring up the rear. The procession moves completely around the row of the culhüe stalks several times. Children are not part of the procession, "but they are everywhere; they do not participate in anything except the eating."

After a rest period it is time to sacrifice the large animal. The animal is laid on its back, each leg held by one of four men, its belly cut open, and its heart pulled forward. Its pulsating heart is cut into small pieces, and a piece immediately eaten by every ceremonial participant. "I have seen this done by the Aigo tribe at Pulmari, which still performs the ceremonial along the exact traditional lines," said a neo-Araucanian. "It is an unbearably cruel thing to see the breast of a living mare cut open and her heart withdrawn. The Curruhuinca tribe at Quilequina has modernized the ceremonial; it is no longer done there." An estancia owner in the Malleo area, a neo-Araucanian, allowed his Araucanian workers to take animals from the estancia which they said they needed for the performance of the ngillatun, among them a white mare. "I attended the ngillatun as an onlooker," he said. "In due time the men brought the white mare forward, and I knew then that they were about to sacrifice her, that they would pull out her heart while she was still living. I could not bear the thought. I pulled my revolver and shot the mare. The Araucanians were so angry with me that for some time thereafter I thought they would kill me."

Prayers at the ngillatun are directed to God as the father of all (chau chau) and to the woman with him as the mother of all (papai). Chau chau and papai are reminded, first of all, of the affection they

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

796

here for the people. "Then we say to them: 'Bless us, your people, with wheat and apples and good weather; bless us with good health and sufficient food; bring children to our families; protect our children and keep all evil from them; bring an increase to our animals, also!'" According to a Collón Curá informant, prayers are said during the dances. The following is one of these: "I hope that this prayer of the people, a united prayer, will be answered, father king of the earth and distinguished women of the kingdom." He wrote it in Araucanian: "Pewmgeaen quewe trigaqa tayin tvuan feis chau chau, ray mapu, ray huifa," and added, "It is a pity that so few persons today know the Araucanian prayers of former days; when we lived like real Araucanians, like the Mapuche in Chile still do, everybody could join in the prayers."

Prayers are said with hands held open at face height, palms toward the cultrún, while standing (today kneeling) near the cultrún at the base of which are the offerings of one's family. Men pray first; women next. Following this, the women sing several songs, again with hands raised to face level and palms toward the cultrún stalks. One song refers to the eagle: "The eagle, the eagle, the eagle! The eagle stands at midday. High in the heavens he stands, in the wind, in the wind." The men call out a refrain of "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!" The women then sing of the puma: "The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! I have a good horse. Even though the mountains are high, my horse is good. There is no better horse than mine, says the puma. The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! He says, I have a good horse; I have a good horse; I have the best horse that travels the Cordilleras; as bad as the road may be, my horse always runs!" Again the men answer with the refrain "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!"

716
595

The machi now beats the kultrug, and all present clap hands to the rhythm. Dancing, known as purrutun, begins. Each woman joins one hand with a hand of a man. With men to the outside, couples in close formation move forward circlewise in a hopping staccato step, alternately on each foot. "Whenever we say purrutun, we mean this type of dancing; it is a sacred dance and everyone is serious during it; formerly we did not dance when we were gay, like we do today." While the purrutun is being danced, the men on horseback ride around the dancers, but a short distance from them. The purrutun ended, the men on horseback form a line and ride toward the sun, praying for the people.

A Collón Curá informant listed five dances that are performed during the pilleatun in his area. They are the dance of the choike (rhea), the mara (patagonian hare), the trugle (a bird), the pavo pavo mapu

(stamping on the ground), and the hullelún kawell (galloping horse). The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear them. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Gillin Creek informant folded a poncho crosswise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, resembling that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultrung. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultrung.

Only old men smoked at the gillatun. Clay pipes (ruq kitru) made by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (ontawe), olles (chulle), whistles (pilúlka), plates (mil'), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive cumbi of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the gillatun.

At the closing of the gillatun the men on horseback form the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately a foot below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quiñquinta in April," stated Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a gillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quiñquinta at the end of the last gillatun, but someone plowed the land of the gillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

19. Ridgeway E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Arawakan SG4
Argentina

are going now by car?" It was customary for the curique to order the 796
sergeant to search the vessel at the subsequent gallerias. "We may find the vessel half emptied," noted Kalapun. "If he does, the curique will announce to the people that either these dead took the other half or the dead are in—there is a world to which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kalapun," I asked, "that the dead are in?" Kalapun answered he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!"

BLACK ART, SORCERERS, WITCHES

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (hallis); 154
today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilapalun man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 320). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain is called dano; witchcraft in general is called hallisiun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it.

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used 683]
on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The hallis would say, 'Why do you hang me? What pain accuse me of, I have not done. Those people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kalapun told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Chonkotta, a curique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his bolche together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Chonkotta wanted to find out if there was a hallis among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, once the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his knee upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the bolches, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a witch, and was burned to death. Chonkotta died. His son Llalatrul was the next curique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

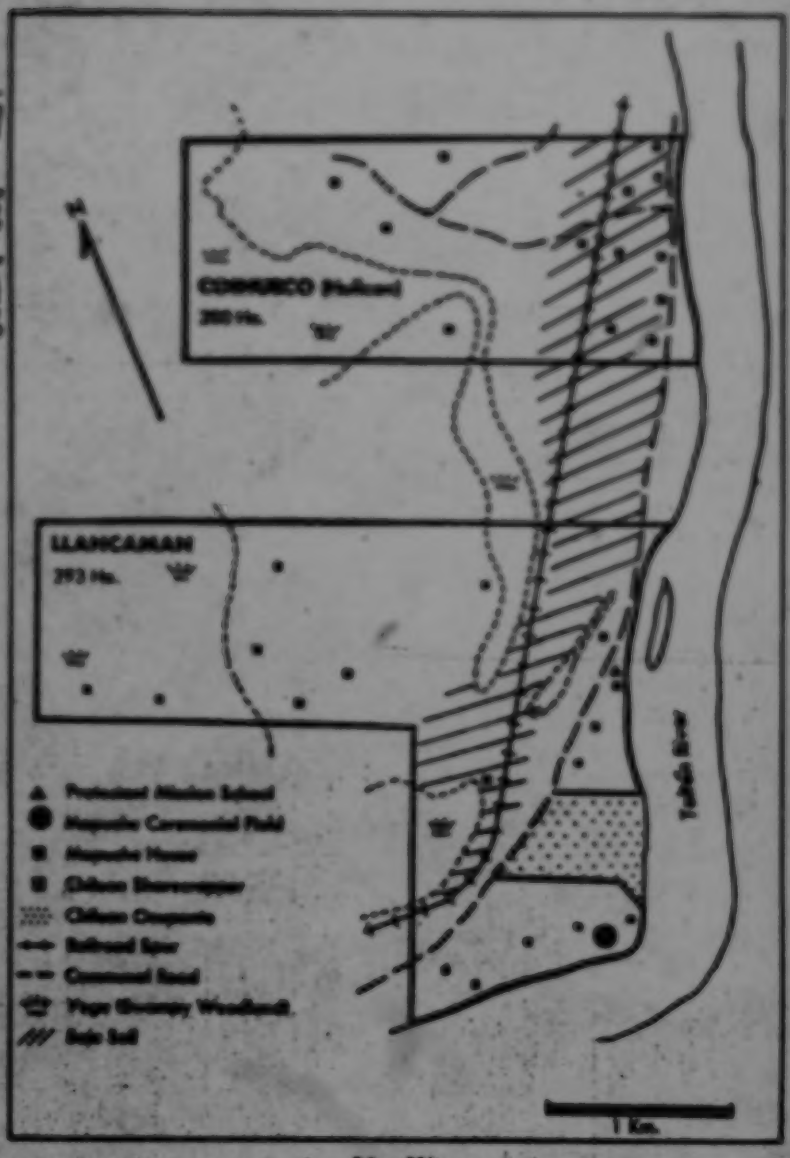
The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (on a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



Map III

[p. 36]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (llekurewen) connected with their own "society."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a reservation community and head of the dominant lineage thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun* (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*. Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on*

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1952:29).

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and sorcery rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche *

mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the *ñillatun* ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this [128] chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling *awn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weza l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun

796 The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements [178] have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words:

> Woven together into the great composite of ñillatun rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of *ñillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Ñillatun. *Ñillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask *ñenechen* and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *ñillatun* is the offering of food to *ñenechen*, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the prereservation era.

In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and *ñenechen* and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the postharvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*awnkamañ*: guardian of *awn*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

Ñillatun is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation.

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held.

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 jewelry, repair oxcarts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 798 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or vehicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If [824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to [782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials (*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by 796 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper super- 625 vision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language 789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any [782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful [769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. [198] The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest [778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llani*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalised ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [776] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *üllatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *üllatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *muday* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *üllatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *üllatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

I have stressed the priestly function of *füllatufe*, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *füllatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *füllatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *füllatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *füllatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a machi" in the *füllatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*füllatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *füllatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *füllatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *füllatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *füllatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *füllatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 793 756 182 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun* mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 756 465 431 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance, but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 756 465 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich payment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ɔwn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
796 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore, [794 although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

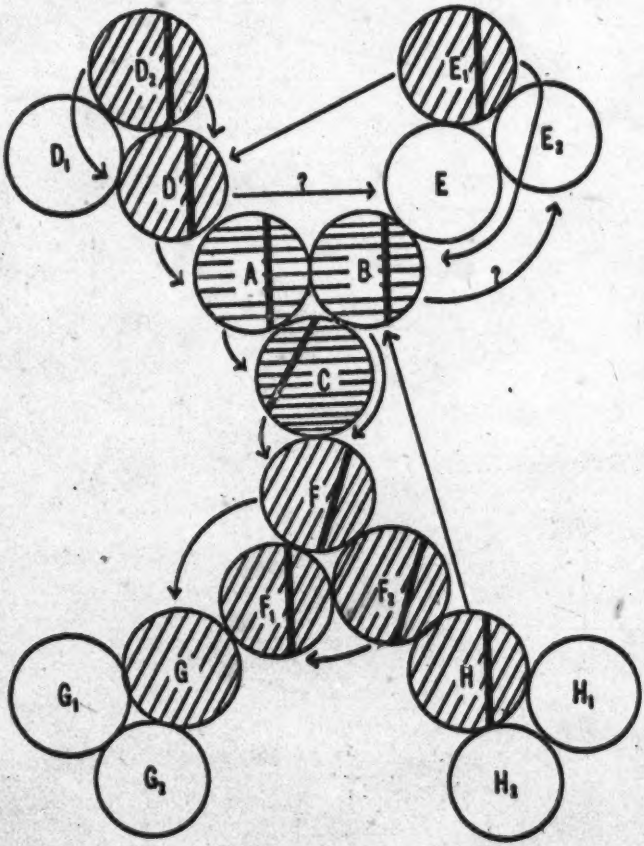
In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794
796
628

DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation



Blank areas indicate absence of reservations. Ritual and marriage ties of peripheral units jump such areas.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 794 628 [574]

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

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In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

•796
794
628

be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Es could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and non-coincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 [769] [796]

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[2] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[2] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *fiillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *fiillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *fiillatun* to meet the general

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ɑwn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.